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614 with paternal descent. Of these, maam and vaaf belong to the Buz-
616 zard moiety, aapap and apki to the Coyote. A recently added sib, called okori, seems to be a catchall to take care of people whose affiliation is lost and varies as to moiety. The sib of an informant was recorded where known, but it seemed to have little to do with ceremonial functioning.

621 The important unit in ceremonial life, as in economic life, was the village. Each dialect group comprised some four or five of these, each with its cluster of offshoots and its hill camps, for use in the dry season.[2] Isolated in their separate valleys, these "village units" did not necessarily co-operate even for war. Each had its own set of hereditary officers, its local fetish, and its version of the ceremonies. Each was suspicious of its neighbors, particularly those of another dialect division. When they met for intervillage games, they prefaced the contest with a ceremony of challenge, indicative of the hostility that was inwardly felt. Had each of these units been given a separate grant of land, as was done for the Pueblos, we can imagine that they might have developed differences comparable to those of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa.

771 A thorough study of these regional differences might cast some light on population movements in Papago and Pima country during the restless millennium before the coming of the whites. Very different influences have been operative there, for some ceremonies reflect the needs of an organized, agricultural people, some those of hunters and individualists. However the ceremonies arose, Papago culture has turned them all to one purpose—rain. War, puberty, curing, even the gathering of salt, were not crowned with success unless they brought this one supreme boon to a desert people.

THE ORIGIN MYTH

773 As a preface to Papago religious beliefs, it may be well to outline the origin myth. This myth does not form a consistent basis for the ceremonies as do, for instance, the Navaho hero narratives. In some respects, indeed, the rituals draw close to it, and the songs and speeches are said to have been used when the need for super-

[2] *Ibid.*

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natural help first arose. Again, there are long passages of the myth 773
that are unconnected with ritual and unknown, even to some ceremonialists. Still, it serves to place some of the supernaturals and the ceremonies they instituted.

The myth takes the usual southwestern form—a long prose narrative, interspersed with songs at points of crisis. The story is told in the narrator's own words, but the songs are, supposedly, those sung by the supernaturals and their followers when the Papago world was young. The songs, therefore, should always be the same, even though the narrative varies for each storyteller. If this was ever the case, it is so no longer. A few songs are so important that [184]
they always appear, but there are long cycles which are sung in one village, but not in another. The relevant prose chapters appear and disappear in the same way.[3] One is reminded of many Pueblo and Navaho myths which, after a common introduction, diverge to describe exploits concerning particular groups or ceremonies.

There are only a few accredited narrators. One can be found in 538
every dialect division, though by no means in every village. Each narrator has received his lore from some relative; usually in the male line, and has learned it by the tedious process of repeatedly hearing the whole, without interruption, from beginning to end. He will hand it on in the same way to some young man, chosen for intelligence and a retentive memory. If suitable heirs are scarce, he may choose from the mother's side of the family, and even women have sometimes qualified. Members of the narrator's audience, too, may learn fragments of the tale and become informal narrators to small groups.

No central body passes on the correctness of any narrative. Each 773
village is a law unto itself, holding tight to its local version of myth 538
and ceremony. Here is no organized body of ceremonialists, intent on welding a theology into shape. Instead, there are a number of individualists, growing farther apart as lapses of memory and imaginative substitutions tend to change their narratives.

[3] The above statement would probably apply to the whole of Pimeria Alta for the Pima myth (Russell, pp. 206–42; 272–82) is essentially the same as the Papago. It would, in fact, appear to be better preserved, for it names more supernaturals than does the Papago version, and its details are more logically presented. See notes on pp. 8, 10, 11.

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The Papago have the usual southwestern rule that myths shall not be narrated in summer. They wait until the biting creatures are asleep, and desert people include among these not only rattlesnakes, sidewinders, and gila monsters but also vinegaroons, tarantulas, and even the stinging ants. One informant, persuaded to tell a fragment of the tale out of season, went for weeks in fear of a flood. The official time for myth telling is during the four days of the winter solstice "when the sun stands still." Then residents of the narrator's village approach him with a handful of cornmeal, asking that he spend four nights in telling the story from beginning to end. He fasts from meat, grease, and salt during the whole time, and the old rule demanded sexual continence also. The listeners must sit upright all night, keep silent, and not doze. If the narrator sees someone sleeping, even a child, he may break off the narrative for that night.

Besides this official narration, which amounts almost to a communal ceremony, the myth may be told at any time from November to March, after suitable gifts to the narrator. The writer heard it in this way from two accredited mythtellers, one (informant 9) from the northern Papago, and one(10) from the southern. Incomplete versions came from a number of different villages(19, 20, 29). Each narrator used free, colloquial prose, though Indian hearers reported that a narrator's phraseology was about the same whenever they heard him. However, the style varied greatly. The first narrator, an elderly man, was brief and terse. The second, who was younger, embellished his narrative with similes, descriptions, and dramatic dialogue in the voices of men and animals.

The chief events, culled from all the versions, may be listed as follows:

1. In the beginning, all was darkness. Earthmaker and Yellow Buzzard [4] were floating in the void. They met four times, and each urged the other to make a world.

2. Earthmaker took "something from his heart," or "the dirt from

[4] Yellow Buzzard of the Papago is the turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura septentrionalis*). He is the totem of one of the moieties, which accounts for his prominence in the creation myth. The Pima, whose totems are more often spoken of as red and white ants (*ibid.*, p. 197), make Earth Doctor the sole primeval being (*ibid.*, pp. 206–7).

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his skin," placed it in the palm of his hand, and a green branch grew from it. This was the greasewood. The lice on the plant produced a gum, as they do still, and from this Earthmaker formed a world. He pounded it, singing, and it flattened out.

3. Before the earth was fully flattened, Earthmaker placed mountains on it, and in the mountains, shamans. On the mountain tops was bird down (clouds). As the earth flattened, the mountains and the shamans were spread everywhere.

4. The earth spread until it reached the edge of the sky dome, then it spun around until the edges were joined. From this union sprang a being who leaped up and down four times, shouting: "I am the child of earth and sky."

5. Earthmaker named the new being "I'itoi." He was a small man with a beard and white, or golden, hair.

6. In the northwest, from under a bush of *Encelia farinosa*, came another being, Coyote. He was foolish, but being "from the beginning," he was powerful. From this time on he acted as the messenger for the supernaturals.

7. The earth was moving and restless. I'itoi, Coyote, and Buzzard tried to stabilize it, without success. There arrived two Spider people, who made rope from their bodies and sewed the earth and sky together all around.

8. The mountains were shapeless. Their ranges and the rivers all ran west. Buzzard was sent out to gash the mountains with his wings, and to turn them and the rivers in various directions.

9. Earthmaker made the sun and the moon by throwing up water, first north, then west, then south, finally east, where in each case it remained. The stars he spat out as saliva.

10. Earthmaker made people from his body, but there was no death, and the people murdered one another for relief, so Earthmaker and I'itoi decided to produce a flood.

11. They did this in a roundabout way. I'itoi created a Handsome Man, who impregnated all the girls of the land, and the morning after his visit each bore a child. A magician brought it about that Handsome Man himself bore a child. He deserted the infant, which wept, and its tears made the flood.

12. The human race was destroyed, but the supernaturals saved themselves—Earthmaker on his magician's rod, I'itoi inside a large jar, Coyote inside a reed, Buzzard by piercing through the sky. A few men became birds and hung to the sky by their beaks, while others

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became trees and took root. Others, with their dog, took refuge on the top of Superstition Mountain, near Phoenix, where they turned to stone. They can be seen there still, with foam marks part way up their bodies.

13. Earthmaker and I'itoi had agreed that the one who first emerged after the flood subsided should have the title Elder. This is a regular Papago kinship term used for all relatives in the same generation with oneself who are of senior descent. The term is *siis*, but in the legends it has the poetic form *si'ihī*.

14. Earthmaker emerged first,[8] I'itoi next, and Coyote last, but I'itoi insisted on the title Elder Brother, and Earthmaker conceded it. After this, I'itoi took the lead. Songs and legends speak of him as Si'ihī.

15. Earthmaker, I'itoi, and Coyote made a new population for the earth out of clay. Coyote's creatures were deformed and were thrown beyond the sea. Earthmaker's also were misshapen, while those of I'itoi were normal human beings.

16. Earthmaker and I'itoi quarreled over their creations. Earthmaker, after attempting to pull down the sky, gave up and sank through the earth, spreading disease as he went.

17. I'itoi's clay people gradually came to life and became the Pima, the Papago, the Apache, and the Maricopa. I'itoi chose the Papago for his own and taught them many arts and ceremonies. Here are mentioned the bow and arrow, the house, and the drinking ceremony.

18. His teaching done, I'itoi retired to a cave on Mt. Baboquiviri, and here the people sent delegates to him when they were in difficulties. They would find him a little old man but when he came to help them he was beautiful, young, and handsomely dressed. Various incidents in which he succored them are related at this point. Since most are localized, they are featured in one village, but omitted in another. (*a*) In Salt River country lived the rattlesnake, who had no fangs and was kicked by all the people, especially the Maricopa. I'itoi made fangs of one of his hairs, which he held up to catch the sunrays. The rattlesnake bit a Maricopa, who was cremated by his companions, thus establishing the Maricopa custom. Coyote stole the heart from the pyre. (*b*) At Santa Rosa a hole gaped in the ground, according to

[8] At this point the Pima version (*ibid.*, p. 213) is more logical than the Papago, since it makes I'itoi emerge first. If emergence from the flood may be considered a symbol of birth, we have a real reason for the title "Elder," otherwise without significance in Piman society.

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some narrators emitting water, according to others, a roaring wind. The hole could not be stopped until four children, two of each sex, were dropped into it. Thus originated the Santa Rosa growth ceremonies. (*c*) At Poso Verde, below the Mexican border, a cannibal woman devoured children. She was stifled by smoke in a cave. (*d*) At Kaka there lived a man-eating eagle. I'itoi killed him and used his feathers for magic. Thus originated the eagle ceremony. (*e*) At Quitovaca, Mexico, there was a monster in a spring who sucked in everyone who approached. I'itoi allowed himself to be sucked in, killed the monster and released the victims. Thus originated the Quitovaca prayer-stick festival.

19. I'itoi, in his old age, became hostile to his people and assaulted their maidens at the girls' puberty ceremony. The people decided to kill him.

20. I'itoi was killed three times, but always came to life. Finally Yellow Buzzard, after consultation with the sun, shot I'itoi with an iron bow (gun).

21. I'itoi was dead for four years, after which he came to life and revived himself by means of the four winds.[6]

22. He rode with the sun to its setting, and went underground to ask help of the people there. [Were these the creations of Earthmaker? The legend says only that they were people who spoke the same language as those above ground.] The Papago and the Pima identify these new people with themselves.

23. The underground people decided to emerge. They sent Gopher ahead to bore holes for them, and they came out in four stages.

24. They emerged at the eastern extremity of Papagueria and marched to the west, driving the former inhabitants either north or south. These former inhabitants, whom the Papago and the Pima call Hohokam,[7] spoke the same language as the Emergents, but lived in walled towns of adobe.

25. I'itoi made the deer for the people's food (or had made them in his former existence), but an evil shaman corralled all the animals.

[6] In the Pima version (*ibid.*, p. 225), where Buzzard has not the prominence given him by the Papago, I'itoi is killed by the sun at Buzzard's (or Vulture's) request.

[7] There has been a linguistic confusion in the application of this term by archaeologists. *Hohokam*, or *huhukam*, is a reduplicated plural, from *huk* (end) and *kam* (person, or persons who). It means those who are finished or gone, and the Pimans apply it to the builders of the great houses, not to the residents who preceded them. By a perplexing twist the earlier inhabitants, I'itoi's creations, *are* the Pimans (Pima and Papago), just as the conquerors are.

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Two brothers, who were hunters, paid the shaman their handsome necklace and earrings to be allowed to hunt for all the people. They instituted the deer-head disguise and its songs.

26. The Emergents went across water, where they fought with people who spoke their own language. These were called Fox People, Wind People, and Bat People. The fratricide angered the sun, so he put a stop to the conquests. The Pima and the Papago returned home and settled their present country. The northern Papago had left a prayer stick [first mention of this kind of offering] at Archie, and they returned to found a village and institute the prayer-stick festival. They threw seed corn to the winds, and the distance to which it was carried, up and down the valley, defined their boundaries. The southern Papago, who had left their prayer stick at Quitovaca (Sonora), did the same.

27. The western Papago went on toward Gila Bend, where they were defied by Yellow Buzzard, I'itoi's assassin in the former incarnation. Buzzard was defeated and scalped, so his head is bare of feathers to this day. He begged for his life, offering to dance around his own scalp, hung on a pole, if he might be spared. I'itoi consented, and thus originated the scalp dance.

28. After the country was settled and the feasts were instituted, I'itoi returned underground. He has occasionally appeared since then, when his help was needed. Once, after the railroad came through Papagueria, he was seen, in the guise of a little old man, driving all the game away to safety. Here might be mentioned a variant of the last part of the narrative, told chiefly in the southern part of the reservation. In this version, I'itoi's final retreat is designated as Mexico, and he is called Montezuma. One young man [not an accredited mythteller] had worked it out that the I'itoi, who led the march of conquest, actually was Montezuma, reincarnated after his defeat by the Spaniards.[6]

A study of this disjointed myth, with its two definite breaks, might throw an interesting light on Piman history. Obviously the long creation story with which it begins shows resemblances to California, which is as near to the Pimans at the west as are the Pueblos at the north. The same holds for the episode of the dying god, killed by his own people. With I'itoi's resurrection, however,

[6] This is a modern development. The older mythtellers had never heard of either Spaniard or Montezuma. The only Spanish-speaking people they know are the Mexicans, whom they regard as an indigenous people, like themselves.

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the narrative breaks off from precedent. True, we are familiar with Coyote's comic resurrections and with an occasional similar revival of a minor character. The death of the chief supernatural, however, usually forms the climax of the narrative, with resurrection postponed to the far future. The Pimans, on the contrary, use it as the transition to an emergence and migration myth, highly suggestive of the Pueblos.

The story of I'itoi's march of conquest goes into geographic detail, giving the localities of the great houses which were destroyed and the names of the *siiwanyi* [9] (rain magicians) who owned them. However, the tale has a baffling twist for anyone who would use it as a clue to Piman history. Were the Pimans I'itoi's original creations? Or were they the people who came from underground to destroy them? They assert that they are both. Some of their most important ceremonies, such as the rainmaking ceremony and girls' puberty ceremony are dated from the era when I'itoi brought them up "like children," and their sites are pointed out in Papago country. Yet the founding of Papago villages and the planting of their prayer-stick "roots" are episodes in the march of conquest.

If the Pimans were the first inhabitants and also the conquerors, there is one thing omitted from the story—the arrival of the great-house builders and their usurpation of the land. Can this be symbolized by the death of I'itoi? Another possibility might be that the present Pimans are a mixture of early inhabitants and of immigrants known to have filtered in from Tusayan country in the twelfth century A.D. The myths of various groups may have been joined in such a way as to leave the present tellers always in the position of chosen people and conquerors. Archaeology seems on the verge of solving the riddle, and when it does, interesting light will be thrown on the psychological motives in myth telling.

SUPERNATURALS

The degree of importance given to supernaturals in this myth has little to do with their place in Papago ceremony. Earthmaker, for instance, is entirely unrepresented, either in song or in ritual.

[9] Cf. Zuni *shiwannai*, rain priest (Parsons, 1939, p. 117) and Keres, *shiwanna*, cloud spirit (Dumarest, pp. 173–74).

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"all our moisture comes from the sky." The abodes of the rain gods in the four directions are thought to be brush huts of this same sort.

For the anomalous prayer-stick festival a large, roofless enclosure is built, like the structures used by the Shoshonean Indians of southern California. It is roughly made and is pulled down when the ceremony is over.

SHRINES

Papagueria has many local shrines, all very crude and some not more than a cave or a stone, marking the place of some supernatural event. A list of the best-known ones follows.

Santa Rosa, Akchin, Archie.—These three places share the most elaborate of the shrines—a pile of stones surrounded by a fence of ocotillo stems, with openings toward all four directions. The stones, says tradition, cover a hole through which once the ocean water threatened to issue in a flood. It was stopped by the sacrifice of four children, a boy and a girl from each moiety. They were thrown into the hole, but remain alive underground; they are the patron supernaturals of the locality. At a little distance from their shrine is an olla that is said to have been put there for the first offering.

Kaka.—A hole where a great wind once entered the earth.

Poso Verde, Sonora.—A cave where the cannibal woman was suffocated by smoke, under I'itoi's directions.

Baboquivíri Mountain.—A cave where I'itoi lived while teaching his people.

Sikorhimat.—The spot where once a ceremonial clown fell dead, having run from Archie to bring a message.

Topawa.—A white rock which receives an offering of eagle down when rain is wanted.

Few of these shrines, except the "children's grave" at Santa Rosa, are associated with any special ceremony, but anyone visiting them leaves an offering, generally an arrow or some tobacco, and repeats some such invocation as the following: "I give you this; now bring me luck." They are still honored to such an extent that the writer, when passing near one, was bidden by her Papago companions to

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not keep in the hot weather, what was gathered was cooked the same day and reduced to seeds, jam, or syrup. It was this boiled syrup which was used for making the liquor, and each housewife sealed it in jars to be ready for the rainmaking ceremony.

At this time the old man of the family recounted the origin of the liquor making. This is one of the miscellaneous incidents inserted during Elder Brother's guardianship of the first people, but in it Elder Brother has no very prominent part, and it has the air of being incorporated forcibly into the story.

A baby was deserted by his mother who was so enthusiastic about playing the game of double ball that she never nursed her child. The infant, after following her in vain, finally sank into the earth and came up on a mountain slope as a giant cactus. The people searched for it and finally the Crow found it. The Crow flew to its summit (the giant cactus is often 20 to 30 feet high); it nibbled the fruit and vomited the red pulp into a basket. The people then put this pulp into a jar and said to it: "You know what to do." The pulp began to ferment, singing:

"Here I stand,
The wind is coming toward me,
Shaking.

Here I stand,
A cloud is coming toward me,
Shaking."

When it was fermented, all the birds and animals, who were then men, painted their faces and bodies and came to drink. The quarrels and adventures which occurred were the cause of present colorings.(1)

Because there was so much drunkenness, the people or Elder Brother decided to do away with the giant cactus. They sent Badger to throw the seeds into the ocean, but Badger met Coyote, who persuaded him to open his hand and show the seeds. Coyote then struck his hand a blow and scattered the seeds, which fell in clumps. Since the wind was blowing from the south, they were blown against the southern side of the hills, where the cactus now grows. Elder Brother finally gave women the tall stick which is used for gathering the cactus fruit and the head-ring of agave fibre, with which they balance the basket on their heads. He ordained that cactus liquor should be

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drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave when they drink.(1)

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had "pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup.
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(2)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

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CEREMONIES TO PROMOTE GROWTH

241 IMMEDIATELY after the rainmaking ceremony, planting might begin. The Papago planted corn, squash, beans, and tobacco, and every stage in the growth of these crops, as well as in that of the wild ones that mature at the same time, was encouraged by singing. But there was great variation in the method. In some villages all the men met regularly during the summer "to sing up the corn"; in some the magic was left to the individual planter, and in some the shaman was called in for the purpose.

SHRINE OF THE FLOOD CHILDREN

● 973 At Santa Rosa the communal ceremony is still kept up. This village shares with Archie, Anegam, and Akchin a shrine dedicated to the four children once sacrificed here to prevent a flood.[1] The story, told among most groups of Papago and always localized where the shrine now stands, is as follows:

973 Once, in the desert near Archie, a hunter was pursuing a badger which x537 had dived into a hole. The man tried to dig it out, but the hole grew larger, and a strong wind issued from it. [Some versions say, instead, that water issued.] The "big man" called the people together, and they talked for four nights about what to do, without being able to decide. Then the old men said: "Let us put into the hole the most valuable thing we have, and perhaps the wind (flood) will stop." So the people were asked to bring what they had, and they brought beads, deer tails, and eagle down. But the wind (flood) did not stop,

[1] See p. 10.

[p. 68]

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and they thought the earth would be destroyed. Then a man spoke—not a shaman, just a wise man. He said: "The most valuable thing we have is our children. Let us take four children, paint them beautifully, and place them in the hole. So it was done.

This part of the story has various versions. The children are always equally divided with regard to sex, but some say there were four, one from each of the four sibs, while some say two, one from each moiety or from each main sib: *dapap* and *maam*. Some versions make them the children of the "big man" himself, while some say they were "grandmother's children," i.e., those whose parents were dead. The version which speaks of four would seem to be the official one, since four children, elaborately painted, figure at the prayer-stick festival and are said to represent these "flood children."

As soon as the children were placed in the hole, it closed up. But the children were not dead, for dreamers since then have often looked down through the earth and seen them, happy and playing.[2]

These "flood children" are the patron deities of the four surrounding villages. They are represented at the prayer-stick festival in a dance which seems to have nothing to do with the rest of the ceremony, and they also appear at the Kaka growth ceremony. Songs were frequently composed about them for ceremonies where new songs were in order, dreamers saw them in visions, and during the writer's visit at Santa Rosa the keeper of the smoke used to go to the shrine and to ask their advice on village problems. The shrine marks the hole where they disappeared, and if its ceremonies were ever to be neglected, wind or flood would again threaten the earth.

The shrine is a conical pile of flat stones, occupying an oval space some twenty feet wide by thirty feet long and surrounded by a paling made of the tall, thorny stems of the ocotillo. These were and are renewed every two years, and the work of renewal, like all other phases of ceremonial life, is associated with the idea of crops and growth.

The renewal took place in April or May, when the ocotillos are green. A meeting was held, and a day was appointed when every

[2] Cf. Zuni, the fate of the child who was given to the corn, died and was buried. Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 593. Also, incidents in Parsons, 1939, p. 235, and 1926, pp. 181–86; Benedict (1936), I, 10–11.

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and squash sat in the center and opened the ceremony by a recital of the story. There are many conflicting versions of this story, each with its own series of songs. Each locality had its favorite, which the local narrator inserted in the origin myth. One of the best known is that of the corn woman, which has its own set of songs, with a special refrain, *Hiro a'áro.*[1]

MYTH OF THE CORN WOMAN

Corn was a man who seduced a Papago woman. She lived with him a long time, and at last returned to her husband. At night she sang to him the songs the corn had taught her. The keeper of the smoke sent a messenger asking why the husband neglected the council meetings. He replied: "I am listening to my wife." The council meeting invited the woman to come. She sat between her husband and the keeper of the smoke, and sang one corn song. All the meeting began to sing. She sang another, and the women came from their houses to listen. At the third the women sang, too, and at the fourth all danced.

SONGS OF THE CORN WOMAN

WHEN CORN FIRST APPEARS

28. Songs begin.
At the west they begin.
Thereby the corn comes up.
Upward its heart [the ear] is stretching.
At the west they begin.
Hiro a'áro!

Songs are ending.
At the east they are ending.
Thereby squash comes up.
In a row its hearts [fruits] are standing
At the east they are ending.
Hiro a'áro!(2)

WHEN CORN IS ONE FOOT HIGH

29. At the west, the red corn.
See me!
I come forth and grow tall.
Yonder on the moist ground

[1] For Pima songs with this refrain see Russell, pp. 333–34.

[Re the legend of corn and squash --Analyst]

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Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
The red corn I am.
Hiro a'áro!

Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
A great white cloud I am.
Hiro a'áro!(2)

● 993 A second myth, which may or may not have connection with the first, emphasizes the role of the man who had corn as a guardian spirit and merely passed his knowledge on to a woman. This protégé of the corn once came upon a group of women baking cholla in a pit. He bade them open the pit, and though they told him this was foolish, for cholla took all night to bake, they did so. Within was baked corn and squash.

993 Corn man, as he came toward the women, sang:

34. I am walking, I am walking.
Hiro a'áro!

At the west there lives a clever girl.
I laugh at her,
And easily I take her.
Hiro a'áro!(20)

He married the youngest girl and went with her to her father's village singing:

34. The sun rises.
Yonder ahead of me
The earth is covered with flowers.
Over it I walk,
Leading the maiden.
Hiro a'áro!(20)

993 He told the girl's father, a shaman, to bid all the people to strengthen the roofs of their houses, for a magic rain would come. They disbelieved him, and when it rained corn and squash their roofs were broken. Then the corn man sang:

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35. House of the shaman, house of the shaman!
House of the shaman, house of the shaman!
You did not believe it was true.
But I came and it was true.
Hiro a'áro!

Here, overhead, the squashes are raining.
Right here, on the fields, the squashes are raining.
Hiro a'áro!(20)

Two other songs with the *hiro a'áro* refrain may belong to this story, though our informants had learned them separately and did not know the context.

Corn speaks.

24. The little striped woodpecker
Descends right down into my heart.

Man speaks.

This my bow
Twangs in the cornfield.
Hiro a'áro!(4)

26. *Hiro a'áro!*
The squash we hold in our arms.
The squash we hold in our arms.
Do we not all hold it in our arms?
Hiro a'áro!
Do we not all hold it in our arms?
Hiro a'áro!(4)

For squash there is a different story, associating it with Navitcu, the ceremonial clown. Navitcu, as we have mentioned, is obviously an importation from the Pueblos, with his mask, his tuft of feathers, his *kachina*-like costume, and the seeds which he carries "in his heart." However, the character has been worked into Papago mythology.

After the flood, when Elder Brother and Earthmaker were looking for the center of the earth, they met Navitcu and the turtle. "You have no right to be here," said Elder Brother, "I have not created you." So he sent them south. Every night when they camped, the turtle

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took from his heart an ear of corn, and the clown, a squash. Coyote, who followed them, reported this to Elder Brother, and the latter decided to invite them back. But they were angry and said they would only come in summer. The rest of the year the people would starve.

The turtle now lives in the south, and Navitcu lives in the north, where he speaks a foreign language. But he taught the people to request favors of him by giving him cornmeal. When this is done, he never refuses.

Once a medicine man had a proud daughter who refused all suitors. The wind, who was among them, blew her up to the top of a high precipice and left her there. Her father, in despair, gave cornmeal to Navitcu, who came underground to the foot of the precipice. He took squash seed from his heart, planted it, and sang:

36. Yonder a rock came out;
Here it came out.
What did I loudly sing?
What did I loudly shout?
I came forth.
I ran hither.(27)

The squash vine grew up to the top of the precipice, and the girl climbed down it.

[249] This and other songs connected with the story serve as special squash-growing magic.(37)

Most of the songs referring to wild crops have been lost, but two are recorded.

GROWING SONG FOR GIANT CACTUS

37. The big mothers stand there.
The big mothers stand there.
Whitely they flower.
Black [the blossoms] dry.
Red they ripen.(20)

CHOLLA GROWING

38. Many chollas came forth.
Many chollas came forth
Then I, having seen,
Thought it well.(20)Ed.10.

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After four songs the shaman took up one sample of each fruit in succession, blew upon it, held it up, and asked help of the rain-houses of east, north, west, and south. As the singing proceeded, he looked about, as he would look for a war party, to see if danger threatened the crop from any direction. If he foresaw the coming of a pest, blight, or sorcery, the company sang the songs to avert evil, described later.

Next day the effigies were taken to fields and hills and left, with the invocation: "I place you here. Do you grow well. Then our children and our relatives coming from elsewhere may eat." Sometimes the shaman went to each individual cornfield, at the request of its owner. He might plant an effigy of corn or merely an ironwood stake, making a similar invocation.(1)

Tobacco songs were not sung in public. Tobacco must be planted far from the village, for if any one other than the planter looked on it while it was sprouting, it would sink back into the ground. If a menstruating woman should pass near it at any time, it would wither. Therefore it was planted only by certain men who knew the ritual. Papago mythology has flowered into several tobacco stories, of which one is a variant of that told about squash.

Corn and tobacco were once men who held an archery contest. They quarreled over the result and were expelled from the village as undesirable neighbors. As they went they halted continually and looked back to see if a peace messenger were following. But no one came. So they found a plot of land and planted corn and tobacco, which they took from their hearts. After some years, people missed them. They sent a messenger, who, after much wandering, found the corn by holding up a tuft of eagle down and feeling how the wind blew on it. The wind smelled of corn. But corn and tobacco were angry and would not come back. Corn gave the messenger a few small grains from the end of the ear, saying "This is all you may have," and tobacco gave faded leaves from the bottom of the stalk. Nevertheless, each gave songs to aid in the use of his gift.

The songs are said to be those of the regular scraping-stick group. Another story has its place in the origin myth. It concerns the period during I'itoi's early guardianship of the people.

After Elder Brother had killed cannibal woman, the people feasted on her flesh. Two boys and their grandmother got none. The grand-

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mother sent them to pick up any drops of blood which might be left, and they found a few, which ultimately turned into bird eggs and hatched out two macaws. The people were angry at the boys, so the grandmother told them to flee, leaving her behind. They were to return in four days, and whatever they found in her place would be her gift to them. They returned and found a tobacco plant. For a long time they did not know what to do with it, but finally Elder Brother visited them, told them to smoke it, and instituted the passing of the ceremonial cigarette.

Many songs given by the old woman to her grandsons accompanied the growth of tobacco. But the Papago at present buy Mexican tobacco, and only one planting song was remembered.

TOBACCO PLANTING SONG

39. Am I not the tobacco shaman?
Here I come forth and grow tall.
Am not I the tobacco shaman?
The blue humming bird finds my flowers.
Above them softly he is humming.
Hiro a'áro.(2)

The communal meeting with fruit effigies is no longer held. But Santa Rosa and its companion villages continue their ceremonies at the shrine, and many individuals use planting songs and invocations.[8]

[8] Public ceremonies for growth are held at the desert shrine which serves Archie, Akchin, Santa Rosa, and Anegam. Other ceremonies are held at Kaka. There may be more unknown to the writer.

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with any relatives who had been less fortunate. Most of it was taken home and prepared for a feast to which all the old and indigent were invited, as well as the visiting kin. The speech emphasizes also the gifts of cooked food which were sent to other houses.

THE DEER DRIVE AND THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

As the ceremonial rabbit drive opened the summer hunting season, so a deer drive opened the winter season. At least, this was so among the northern Papago, whose deer hunting began in November. The southern Papago held their deer dance and hunt in August. In both cases the procedure was the same. A blacktailed deer was ritually killed and cooked, with corn, beans, and squash from the harvest. Songs, dancing, and orations united and sanctified all this food in a general cleansing ceremony.

The rites were instituted by I'itoi, say the ceremonialists, because after he had created the deer he found that the people became sick from eating too much of it. So he showed them a dance by which they might "step down the sickness." Though this is popularly known as "deer dance," it has nothing in common with the dances for multiplying game, so common among the Pueblos. Its Papago name is *mā'makah*, a word no informant could translate. One member of the *maam* sib thought that it might refer to that group, to which he said *I'itoi* had specifically given it. Certain it is that in this ceremony sib distinctions play an important part. Special roles are assigned to members of *maam* and *dapap*, but since these are the oldest and most important members of Buzzard and Coyote, respectively, it may be that the distinction is actually one of moiety.[11]

A cleansing ceremony was given in each of the important ceremonial centers, Archie, Pisinimo, Kaka, and Quitovaca (Sonora). The only one still in force is that held at Quitovaca, though the Pisinimo people, who are Catholics, substitute for it the killing of a beef in front of the church on Holy Cross day and the distribution of cakes instead of venison. Accounts of the dance were obtained from Kaka, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, and Quitovaca and are different enough to be treated separately.

[11] For description of sibs and moieties see Underhill, 1939, pp. 30–34.

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7

THE PRAYER-STICK FESTIVAL

EVERY fourth winter among the northern Papago, every summer among the southern Papago, there took place a peculiarly sacred ceremony, the *wiikita*. This has been spoken of as a harvest festival, but it did not come at harvest time, and its purpose, say the Papago, was to "keep the world in order" and prevent a flood. Keeping the world in order was a function of the Pueblo solstice ceremonies, and, indeed, the respective dates of the prayer-stick festival come as near to summer and winter solstices as they do to harvest. It seems more accurate, therefore, to use some approach to the Papago name. The word *wiiki* means bird down, and *ta*, made. That which is made of bird down is a prayer stick, and the *wiikita* was the time, above all others, when prayer sticks were used. In these pages it will be called the prayer-stick festival.

The feast was instituted by I'itoi during his march of conquest. While leading the people through Papagueria, he placed prayer sticks of turkey feathers[1] at two places: Archie, among the northern Papago, and Quitovaca, now in Sonora. This was to signify that the people should settle first of all in these places[2] and that the turkey should be their food. The prayer-sticks marked the chosen sites, while the people crossed water and finally returned. They came first to Archie, where they settled in force, and therefore Archie has for years had the elaborate quadrennial festival in

[1] According to Parsons (1939, Vol. I, p. 250) turkey feathers are the commonest of all feathers used on Pueblo prayer sticks.

[2] Note the Jemez myth that the people on reaching their present site put down red-stained eagle feathers "to be the roots of the town." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 255.

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early December. Only a few went on to Quitovaca, which has a much smaller festival every August. The two ceremonies are so different as to need separate descriptions.

THE WINTER CEREMONY[3]

The San Xavier calendar stick, which records the important events among the northern villages for the last eighty years, has, regularly every four years, a blue dot to represent the prayer-stick festival at Archie. It was discontinued after 1912, but revived in 1932, and now the Archie people plan to continue it regularly. It is, as has been mentioned, a co-operative effort on the part of Archie and her daughter villages and serves as a general reunion, when every family of Archie stock returns to camp around the mother village and shares in the general blessing.

The villages of this common family are those which occupy one of the typical north and south valleys of Papagueria, extending in this case from Archie on the north to Big Fields on the south. Archie is the oldest settlement and almost contiguous with it is its daughter Santa Rosa, divided into two sections known as the Burnt Seeds and Palo Verde Standing. The other offspring are scattered down the valley, the most important being the ancient town first called Mesquite Root, then Iron Pump and now deserted for Big Fields, where its farms are.

Archie, Santa Rosa, and Iron Pump always join for the prayer-stick festival. With them is the neighbor village Akchin, more distantly related and with offshoots in another valley. Finally they admitted a comparatively new settlement, belonging to people of another dialect who had moved near them. This was Anegam, (place of the willows). These towns co-operate and sing against each other as do *kivas* and moieties in localities of a different organization. All their offshoots and "relatives" come to the ceremony and camp nearby, each identifying itself, for the singing, with its mother village.[4]

[3] Briefly described in Mason, 20.

[4] In the account of the prayer-stick festival for 1932, one informant substituted Palo Verde Standing for Iron Pump, claiming that the latter has now almost no inhabitants. It is former Iron Pump people who live at Palo Verde.

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317 find. At a little distance grew the last tree they would see, and
484 from it they cut scratching sticks, to be used as soon as they had touched salt.

Then they went as far as possible that night, so that they might get to the ocean and back the next day. It would be a waterless twenty-four hours, and they had drunk all they could at the tank in preparation. At this last camping place they left all extra equipment, and each man deposited one of his canteens. When they returned from their day of salt gathering, they would be sure of a drink.

[173] The peak where Anegam and Santa Rosa performed their ritual was Black Mountain,[8] the Ararat where Elder Brother is said to have landed in his olla after the flood. Here, also, there was water, which the neophytes might not drink until they had raced up the hill. The fleetest of them carried one prayer stick for all. He waved
[178] it four times toward the ocean, then four times across his breast from right to left and four times down, while the others "cleansed" themselves with a similar motion. The man with the prayer stick then sat down and pounded it into the earth, with the usual invocation. Santa Rosa and Anegam also left prayer sticks at the tree where they cut scratching sticks.

317 On this last night, both Santa Rosa and Anegam made speeches
484 which prefigured the purification of the neophyte and his acquisi-
537 tion of power. The Anegam speech describes most vividly the neophyte's entrance into the water and the ceremonial throwing of corn meal, which was the actual procedure. In the visions of Anegam, Coyote was the traditional protector, while with Santa Rosa it is the unnamed "guardian" himself. The "marking" described is the same as that which is used in naming a child and in purifying a girl at puberty. It seems to stand for purification, though it is not now used for the salt pilgrim.

319 After the crier's call and "The Heartening," the Anegam speaker
484 said:
x 539

8. Thus was fulfilled my desire.
Toward the west a black road did lie.

[8] Mexican, Pinacate.

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woman from each moiety, the men holding corn and arrows, the women eagle feathers.[32]

One of the closest connections with the Pueblos is found in the impersonation of Navitcu, the ceremonial clown. His kilt, mask, and shrill cry are in the *kachina* manner, while performers at other ceremonies are maskless and wear a breechclout. Even the name suggests the Pueblos. The Keres have a whole group of "nawish" who are called on for help in planting[34] and who distribute green corn and melons at the dances.[35] Their costumes are not described, but at Zuni, the clownish Nahalico, or Crazy Grandchild,[36] wears a bag-like goat-skin mask with turkey feathers. Another Zuni *kachina*, Navico,[37] wears squash blossoms as an augury of plenty. A young *kachina*, chosen for a part in the initiation ceremony because he had no other duties, he was bidden to carry corn with him—in fact, to *be* the corn.

The Hopi, too, have a *kachina* who recalls Navitcu, though with a different name. Eototo, who carries corn and beans at the *powamu* ceremony, has a bag-like elk-hide mask.[38] He, with his people, the Bear clan, is said to have left the Hopi on their wanderings and gone to the south, whence they returned much later to Oraibi.[39]

It seems obvious that Navitcu's "northern home" is the Pueblos. However, his relationships are varied, for his personality combines the *kachina* with the ceremonial clown. At the prayer-stick festival there is not one Navitcu but a group of from ten to thirty. They run among the people before the ceremony collecting gifts, like Pueblo clowns and perhaps those of Mexico also.[40] During the dance they caper among the performers. They stage little comedies, satirizing daily life, and here they abandon their shrill cries and even speak. Pueblo clowns indulge in the same buffoonery, but we are reminded particularly of the Zuni *ne'wekwe*, bringers of corn.[41] It was a *ne'wekwe* who pursued the corn maid-

[32] Goldfrank, p. 108.
[34] Parsons, 1939, p. 203n.
[35] Boas, pp. 210, 278.
[36] Bunzel, 1930, pp. 1065–66.
[37] Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 991.
[38] Earle and Kennard, Pl. LV.
[39] Information from Jimmy Kewánwytewa, Oraibi.
[40] Parsons, 1934; also, Zuni, Bunzel, 1930, pp. 274, 524; Tewa, Parsons, 1929, pp. 129, 183; Isleta, Parsons, 1930, p. 323; Mexico, Sahagún Bandelier, pp. 40, 41, 66.
[41] Parsons, 1916, pp. 229–32.

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ens when they had fled from Zuni and found them by planting a cottonwood tree, which grew to the sky. Thus, he escorted them back to Zuni, but Molawia, the name of the festival, which commemorates the achievement, means melons.[42] The Papago Navitcu duplicated the *ne'wekwe* achievement. "The wind blew a beautiful girl up to the top of a cliff (a Papago myth element which has many different endings). The people, after holding a meeting every night, without deciding upon any means of getting her down, called on Navitcu. They sent a man to the north to sprinkle corn meal for him and he came, traveling underground as he always does. He took squash seeds from his heart and planted them at the foot of the cliff. A vine grew up and the girl climbed down it. This is the origin of squash and why we sing to Navitcu when we plant it."(12) Like the *ne'wekwe*,[43] and like many other clown and *kachina* groups, Navitcu can cure. A common explanation of disease among the Papago is the breaking of a ceremonial taboo, and the cure is a repetition of the violated ceremony or of some part of it. But Navitcu, usually spoken of in the singular in spite of his plural manifestation, is a healer *par excellence*. When he appears at the prayer-stick festival, people sit in rows waiting for his touch, and they also call for the impersonation at any time of the year. The function and mask of Navitcu are hereditary in certain families, as are those of the *ne'wekwe*.[44]

The ritually made "fields" among which these clowns disport themselves might well be an enlarged version of the altar made by the Hopi for the god of germination [45] and composed of sand mounds into which are stuck ears of corn and prayer sticks. In fact, at one Walpi solstice performance Fewkes describes an imitation cornfield, with plants on clay pedestals, to be knocked down by the water serpent and then given to the women as an augury of plenty.[46] The usual Pueblo sand altar is referred to sometimes at Isleta as "the village," and at Acoma as "the fields." [47] The making of large sand mounds like those of the Papago occurs, too, at Zuni during *sha'lako*,[48] and scalp ceremonial.[49]

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[43] Parsons, 1936, p. 229.
[44] Fewkes, 1900, pp. 608–9, 615, 617.
[45] Parsons, 1917, pp. 188–89.
[46] Cushing, 1920, p. 620.
[47] Fewkes, 1920, p. 594.
[48] Information from Dr. Parsons.
[49] Parsons, 1924, p. 9.

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they would have been pushed by intruders. It is true that this western country is more primitive and more conservative than the rest and also that it lacks a ceremony, the Wiikita, proved to be definitely Puebloan in origin. However, the locality has no tradition of cremation beyond that of the enemy victim. Unsolved elements enter into the problem here.

Another possibility is that the Pimans represent a recent invasion of nomads who drove out the great house builders. Gladwin's objection to this is that their perfect adaptation to their desert habitat precludes their having arrived there as late as 1400 A. D. and data in the following pages go to support such a statement. Nomads warlike enough to conquer the great houses would hardly settle down so soon to a life of industrious agriculture such as the Pimans practise, and if the houses were voluntarily abandoned it would be because the fields were unusable, so no other agriculturists would move in. Gladwin also argues that they have no songs to commemorate such a conquest which should be recent enough for great vividness. They have, as a matter of fact, an elaborate saga, describing how they themselves destroyed the houses,[1] but the writer is inclined to think it a late creation, for the Pimans have, at various times, told quite different versions. Besides the Aztec story, they have said that the houses were built by their own ancestors,[2] by foreigners from the north[3] and, even, specifically by the Moqui "because they alone know how to do such things".[4]

It seems just possible that *the* Pimas who told such contradictory stories were different groups of Pimas, including some who were actually descendants of the Pueblo invaders or of those who had assumed their culture and some who represented a previous settlement. But, in course of time, the Pimans have evolved a myth which recounts, with topographical detail, how they destroyed the houses, marching through the country from east to west and working magic to crumble the walls of the "sacred houses" or "rain houses" where lived the *sivanyi*, the rain magicians. Granting that such a tale has no ranking as history, it may afford implicit ethnological evidence and, for that reason, we quote a summary of the present Papago version as told by the official narrators.

Elder Brother and Earth Magician, having made human beings, quarrelled and Earth Magician retired with his creations underground. Elder Brother's people, who spoke the same language, remained above. He cared for them until he finally offended them and they killed him. He came to life and went underground to ask

[1] Russell, pp. 226—230.
[2] Bandelier, 1892, p. 464.
[3] Bolton, 1936, p. 370.
[4] Couse, II, pp. 386—387.

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help of Earth Magician and his men in revenge. These latter were the present People.

They sent gopher above ground as a spy and he reported the people there were playing all sorts of games and "speaking our language". The underground people, in the legend called the Emergents, decided to come up. They emerged at a place called Smooth Ground, an alkali plain at the extreme east of the present Papagueria, near Benson. Here they divided into three armies and marched west. One army went north, through the Gila valley, one south through the Altar and the third in the middle through the present Papagueria. The great houses fell before their magic and the inhabitants fled, some far to the north, and some far to the south. These latter are still to be found in Sonora and are called Jackrabbit Eaters.

The People marched west across a great water (Colorado River?) which parted to let them through but closed again so that many of them could not get back (floods?). On the far side of this water they fought with the Fox Enemies, who had underground houses like fox holes; the Bat Enemies, who attacked at night and so swiftly that they seemed flying; the Owl Enemies, who crept up like dead men. The People were beaten, so finally they crossed the water again. But they had delayed too long: it closed while they were crossing and left many on the other side where they are now.

The remainder came back to Pimeria and, under Elder Brother's direction placed prayersticks (there has been no mention of prayer sticks in the former tales) at Archie in the north and at Quitovaca in Sonora. Elder Brother then taught them the Wiikita ceremony. The scalp ceremony he had taught during the march of conquest. From Archie and Quitovaca, the people went out to settle the land.

This tale may have echoes of the walls of Jericho and the Red Sea, attributable to the missionaries. But it also sounds like a Pueblo migration myth. Its march of conquest is completely out of keeping with the peaceful and sedentary nature of the Pimans and, particularly the Papago, who abhor war and lack any pattern for boasting over its exploits. It is true that the myth speaks of the houses as crumbling by magic rather than in battle but even the idea of leaving their homes to appropriate the lands of others is contrary to Piman thought, and one wonders if it has not been borrowed from the annals of a more nomadic race.

But the story of the conquest is not the whole of the tale. The first part, abbreviated in the summary into a paragraph is what, to most Papago, constitutes the origin myth. It relates to the ancient people and ends with the death of Elder Brother, while the second part begins with Elder Brother's resurrection and ends with the march of conquest. In spite of the logical form given the tale

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VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

The Ancient Form

631 623 The Papago had no central government. Each village unit was autonomous and when two units occasionally joined, for war or games, the union was temporary. There are traditions of meetings, held in time of crisis by the leaders of several different units, generally involving the divisions of Archie and Kuhatk. At such times, the Archie leader was deferred to, since the Archie people were "the oldest settlers" and the "first up from underground". The deference seems to have been a matter of courtesy, not organization and did not apply to Tecalote which had its affiliations in Mexico. We may conjecture from this that there were perhaps loose federations of village units but such formal organization as there was, concerned the village only. The main outlines of this organization follow roughly those of the Pueblos and may be found, in simpler form, among the Shoshoneans, both of California and the Basin.[1]

CEREMONIAL HOUSE

621 344 Every main village, as a mark of its official status, had a ceremonial house, both at the Fields and at the Wells. The one at the Fields was the largest, since it was in summer or just after harvest that most important ceremonies took place. This house was known as the Big House, or the Rain House, since it was here that the rain-making liquor was brewed. At present it is called the Round House, because it is built on the old round plan, while dwelling houses are square.

[773 537 The house was large enough to accomodate all the men in the village: perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter. At the building of a new one, a speech was made by a hereditary orator, telling of the magic building of the first house, with the help of earthworms to furnish the timbers; the gopher to heap earth on the roof; the birds to throw down feathers for a floor covering. Then songs calling for rain were sung.

New villages, leaving the parent village, erected a house in this way, bringing the orator from home for the occasion. In the winter camps, the meeting place was often a brush enclosure, since no

[1] Strong, 1927.

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525 Scoring is done with grains of corn a pile of which is placed on the ground between the two sides. When one side loses by a wrong guess, the opponents take the proper number of grains from the central pile. When the central pile is exhausted the winners take from the losers' pile. They play until one side has all the corn.

Culin states that the original pile should contain a hundred grains[1] but the writer as previously explained, doubts if the Papago counted so high.

A game of hidden ball usually lasted from sunrise to sunset. It could be played informally by a few men who had leisure time on their hands but all important games were formal occasions. Each village had a few men who were famous gamblers, known for unmoved faces and trickiness in hiding the bean. Such men had usually had a supernatural experience which gave them the requisite [787] power. One informant, after killing an eagle, had been visited by the dead bird who promised him success and told him always to fling down the tubes with their openings toward the east. He never lost.

Two famous gamblers in a village might challenge each other. Then they would ask for a meeting in the council house, announce their intention and each would ask for volunteers on his side. His relatives and those who believed in his luck would join him and spend the intervening time collecting goods to wager. Their leader generally did the guessing and had an assistant as hider. All the others offered suggestions and sang to confuse the opponents. If they thought the leader's luck was failing they would put forward [787] another guesser. A young man who had had a vision might suddenly offer himself in this capacity and win great fame.

If the game was between villages, a challenge might be issued in the spring for a meet after harvest. Each village held a meeting and selected its principal guesser and assistants. Almost all the male population assisted with suggestions.

525 The songs for hidden ball were, like other magic-working songs, d73 the high points of a myth recounting a legendary occurrence. A young wife was pregnant when her husband's older brother, who had wanted her for himself, killed her husband. The murderer fled and became a famous gambler. The child, growing up, continually asked his mother as to his uncle's whereabouts and how he could take vengence. He decided to gamble with his uncle and to bet his life, and for the purpose, invented the game of hidden ball.

His mother told him where to find the reeds and he marked them as they are now. He made Hair-Tied first and that reed was always

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[1] Culin, p. 354.

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the most powerful. When he practiced the game, he put the bean first in Old Man but that reed is not powerful and his opponents guessed it. Next he tried Old Woman which also they guessed. Then he put it in Hair-Tied-Up which they did not guess. The superstition still is that the first bean of the game will be in that reed. He played with his uncle, won all his goods and finally his life. 525 773

Only one of the songs was transcribed:

Hair Tied Up, that is my pet!
Before my adversaries I drop it.

Another form of hidden ball was *tciwit wɔpitah*, (laid down in the earth) where the bean was hidden, not in a reed but in one of four piles of sand. The two lines of players sat with one long heap of sand between them. The blanket was held over the hiding side and over the heap of sand while the hider, holding the bean, ran his hand along the sand and dropped the bean into it. He then separated the sand into four mounds; the blanket was removed and the opponents guessed which mound held the bean. Their procedure was to go direct to the mound selected and pull it apart. If the bean was there, they obtained the privilege of hiding it. If the bean was not there, their opponents scored one. Scoring in this case, was done by making marks on the sand and ten marks won the game. There were songs for this game also but none was recorded. 525

The hand game was called *i nonhai ap-i-wɔpitah* (in their hands laid). Four men played on a side, each having a stick one to two inches long tied to his middle finger by a loop of string or cotton cloth, which must be of the old, handwoven sort. Some thought that the sticks should be of four different woods: mesquite, ocatillo, palo verde and acacia. To decide which side should play first, a man of one side hides one stick while a man of the other guesses. A clap of the guesser's hands indicates that he has made his decision and that the hand to which he points must be opened. The guesser goes through the same sort of feints used in the modern game of Up Jenkins to make the hider open his hands before the clap. If the hider does so, the guesser's side gets the sticks to hide. Also if he guesses correctly they get the sticks but if incorrectly the hider's side gets them.

After this preliminary, the hiding side put their hands behind them, while attaching the sticks to the middle finger of either the right or left hand. The guesser may guess all the hiders at once or individually, thus: "In the outside hands, the inside hands" (the terms right and left are not used) "In those two outside, those two

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter VII

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

773 ONE of the Papago myths accounts for the division of mankind into races. A long time ago, after the Papago had emerged from the underworld, they were plagued by an eagle who killed people and carried them off to his aerie. No man was able to kill the eagle, and at last the Papago called upon their hero I'itoi for help. When I'itoi had conquered the vicious bird, he began to revive the corpses of the victims. Those who had been dead the longest and were most decayed and pallid he turned into white people. Because they had been dead too long to remember anything, I'itoi gave them the power of writing, so that they could put things down to help their memories. From corpses who were better preserved and came up kicking, he made the Apache, who always gave the first blow in battles but in the end were conquered. The Papago came up fighting, but they always finally won. Other Indian tribes were created in similar fashion (there seems to be doubt as to the origin of Mexicans and Negroes). This story, the Papago say, proves that all men are of the same race as the Papago, but they themselves are "the people." The center of the universe is the sacred mountain, Baboquivari. Papago medicine men are superior because they have greater power than other people. The Desert People themselves are superior because they have made a living from the desert as no one else has been able to do.

186 It is interesting to note that the Papago, though modest and retiring as individuals, reveal in their tradition the ethnocentricity characteristic of most peoples. They also have their stereotypes for outsiders. In this chapter we shall discuss the Papago's relations with, and attitudes toward, other groups.

OTHER INDIANS

609 For years the Papago have had close contacts with the Pima of the Salt and Gila River reservations, most recently through work in the cotton fields and truck farms owned by Pima. These people are considered by the Papago to

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Chapter IX

CULTIVATION AND UTILIZATION OF TOBACCO —A CEREMONIAL CROP[1]

Pi Pa 276 249 889

The growing of tobacco must be looked upon as ceremonial agriculture, and the smoking of it as an essentially ceremonial practice. It is, therefore, impossible to understand the cultivation of tobacco without taking this ritualistic aspect into consideration, and for this reason it is here considered apart from the growing of other crops.

Among both Papago and Pima, tobacco was regularly grown only by old, rather than young, men although any man had the presumptive right to grow it if he knew its culture and the song. There were two reasons for this limitation to old men—first, a man ordinarily had to be fully grown before he could use tobacco, second, having less to do, the old men had time to grow it.

The Traditional Origin of Tobacco

Pi Pa 773

Bernabé López[2] gave the following account of the origin of tobacco:

There was once an old woman who had a grandson and she told him that when she died he should take her out where the ground was soft, fertile, and where the water came down, and bury her, but not to let anyone see where he had buried her. He should then go back to the burial spot at the end of four days and he would see a small plant coming up on her grave. This he did, and again visited the spot at the end of another four days and found the plant had grown to a nice

[1] For the botanical aspects of Piman tobacco see Chaper IV.

[2] Bernabé López pointed out that his account of the origin, cultivation and smoking of tobacco applied to San Pedro and Coyote Papago villages, and that if we should get accounts from informants at other villages these would be slightly different in certain respects. Informants in general agreed that such inter-village differences existed.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

large one. He broke off one leaf and made a cigarette, which he smoked, and thought his mind was clearer after smoking it.

López said tobacco is like a person. After people had used it for a long time, some of them said it was no good, so Tobacco became angry and disappeared, hence people could no longer smoke. She went to the west and the people did not know just where she had gone but they began looking everywhere and finally a man found her. He came back and told the people about it, then went back and tried to persuade her to return. She refused, but did give him one seed pod of tobacco, which he brought back and planted, thus starting it again, and it turned out to be the same kind of tobacco that had originally come up where the old woman was buried, namely "under-the-creosote-bush tobacco" (*N. Tabacum*). (Another informant said tobacco was not a woman but a man.)

This account of the origin of tobacco is essentially the same as that given by other Papago and Pima informants. Russell's brief account of the myth, as well as that of Densmore,[3] is similar in essence.

Practical Aspects of Tobacco Cultivation

The Papago always planted their tobacco in a desert wash where the soil was silty, never among other crops in their fields, and took very good care of it. The patch might vary in size from eight feet to eight yards square, and this held true for the Pima as well. The Papago method in some villages was to dig ten to twelve holes, each about eighteen inches in diameter and eight inches deep, place seed in the holes and cover with about one-half inch of soil, leaving a depression. (In one village it was customary to fill the holes with fine silt sifted through the hands.) Only two seeds (one informant said four) were placed in each hole, as otherwise the plants became too crowded and produced small leaves. In the village of one informant it was customary to loosen

[3] Russell, *Pima*, pp. 224, 248; Densmore, *Papago Music*, pp. 29-30.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

[82] west just before sunrise, their setting being considered the end of the night. Comparatively few men are considered competent to 538 tell the old tribal stories, and it is often necessary to send a long distance to secure their services. Two men go together, one telling the stories and the other assisting him. These men tell stories four nights and, in that time, can relate the entire series, beginning with the creation. There are said to be six divisions of the Papago tribe, [197] each speaking a different dialect and having its own version of these stories. The words of the songs differ slightly in the several dialects but it is said that the melodies are always the same. The stories here presented are from the divisions of the tribe living at San Xavier and at Vomari. The more complete stories were related by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier, who is not one of the regular story tellers but has been an attentive listener, thus learning the stories and their songs.

There are two classes of tribal stories. The first and most important class consists of stories that must be told in a prescribed order, while the stories in the second class may be combined in any desired order to form a night's story telling. To the first class belong the following: (1) The ashes people; (2) the gambler; (3) the old woman who ate the children; and (4) the peacock. To the second class belong the stories of the origin of the flute, also that of corn and tobacco, which is called the "mind clearer." The principal character in these stories is Elder Brother (also called Montezuma and Ithoi), and the more important stories relate his adventures with Earth Magician (Tcivut makai), Coyote, Brown Buzzard, Beater Wind and other personages. In each story there are pauses at about equal intervals, the usual number being three, though some stories contain only two. These pauses always occur at the same places and are introduced at points of special interest. The story teller says, "Now we will smoke," or announces the pause in some similar phrase, and the people are at liberty to lie down, walk about, or go outside the lodge. During the telling of the story they are required to sit up and pay strict attention. There is no feast in connection with the stories, but tobacco is given the story tellers before they begin their work.

113 It is not the intention of the present work to enter into a detailed consideration of Papago mythology. The only versions of the stories here offered are those that were recorded in connection with the songs. The first and second stories of the principal series are given in extended form; the third and fourth stories may be summarized as follows: There was an old woman who used to go around the villages, picking up the children and calling them her grandchildren. Then she carried them away, crushed them and ate them. At last the people decided they must get rid of her, so Elder Brother went to her house and said, "There is a big dance in the next house.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Why don't you go and join the fun?" The old woman went to the dance and they gave her a cigarette made of a certain plant. She smoked it and fell asleep. Then they carried her across the line into Mexico. They carried her to a little mountain and put her in a tunnel. It was a deep tunnel and they put her in the farther end, piled wood across the entrance, and set fire to it. She was so strong that she rose up and split the top of the mountain but Elder Brother drew it together again. Mattias Hendricks, who recorded numerous songs, said he had seen the split in the mountain and the footprints which are about 12 inches long and 4 inches wide. He said it seemed as though Elder Brother stood astride the split, as his footprints are on both sides of it. The final story of the series is a continuation of this and states that an old woman came to the place where the animals were eating the old woman who was burned in the tunnel. They did not give her any, but she got hold of some charred blood and took it home, and it turned into a peacock.

The following narrative contains portions of the first Papago creation myth, the informants selecting the portions most closely associated with songs.[1] This narrative was obtained at Vomari village, about 7 miles from the Mexican border. Mattias Hendricks (pl. 8, *a*) was chief of this village. His mother (pl. 8, *b*) was among the informants who united with the singers in giving these stories. The other singers at Vomari were Jose Hendricks (pl. 14, *a*), Jose Ascencio (pl. 17, *b*), and Rafael Mendez (pl. 17, *c*). The wife and child of Mattias Hendricks are shown in Plate 9.

Story of the Ashes People

In the old times there was a flood that covered the whole earth. Elder Brother gathered gum from a certain bush (usabugum) and made a big olla. He took every sort of animal with him, and got into the olla. Last of all came Coyote and wanted to get in. Elder Brother told him there was some bamboo growing in the west. He told Coyote to get some of this bamboo. Coyote brought it. Then Elder Brother cut off the end and put Coyote inside, letting his tail hang out. The flood came while Elder Brother was doing this, and soon everything was afloat.

When the water subsided, Elder Brother came out of the olla and Coyote came out of the bamboo. They met four times as they were walking. Coyote was all muddy and could not walk very well because of the mud, but he sang the following song as he was walking toward Elder Brother.

[1] For a more complete version of these and other stories see Frank Russell, The Pima Indians, Twenty-sixth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1908.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

in an amusing manner. During the day the processions passed around the outside to the back of the inclosure where the boys and girls, representing the sacrificed children (see p. 138), were stationed. These children were required to stand in one place and dance all day. Behind them was a young man with small rasping sticks who sang special songs. The clowns went around the camp and sat down with one group after another, being unwilling to leave unless they received a gift of food, which they took to persons in the inclosure. Friends of the sick brought them to this ceremony with the belief that any of the clowns could benefit them, as all the clowns were supposed to be medicine men.

The Viikita as observed in the southern part of the reservation shows some differences from the northern custom. The following information was obtained at Vomari village, about 7 miles from the Mexican border. Mattias Hendricks, a Papago chief, said that the Viikita had its origin in the village of Kiithowak [32] in Sonora and was given to the people by Elder Brother, also called Montezuma. In the middle of this village there is a spring of water. The people once saw in this spring an animal that they knew belonged in the sea. The animal came out of the spring, lay around, and swallowed a few people. When the inhabitants of the village found that it was a dangerous animal they tried to kill it but could not do so. They sent word to Elder Brother where he lived in Baboquivari Mountain and asked him to come and see if he could save them from danger. When Elder Brother came toward the place he said, "I am going over yonder. You must watch and if you see clouds come up and stay in the sky you will know that I have killed the animal, but if there are no clouds it will mean that he has swallowed me." [32a] Elder Brother sharpened his knife very sharp and put it in his belt.

There is a little mountain on the north side of the village. He went along there and when he was about to turn at the point of the little mountain and could see where the animal lived a wind came and blew him right into the animal's mouth. When he got inside he crawled along and found the animal's heart, and cut its throat from the inside. The animal jumped up and then fell to the ground. When the animal died Elder Brother crawled out and found that the animal had fallen on the shore of the sea. Then clouds appeared where he had predicted and the people knew that he had killed the monster. Afterwards he returned to the village and told them about it. Ever afterwards the day was kept as a thanksgiving festival. Four Viikita songs were recorded at Vomari but no attempt was made to study the ceremony in detail. It was said that two inclosures were

[32] This village is referred to as Quitovequita by Davis in his description of the ceremony. See "The Papago Ceremony of Viikita," by Edward H. Davis, in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. III, no. 4, published by the Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1920.

[32a] Cf. a similar signal on p. 22.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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a feast for the occasion, which will insure rain and good crops. An essential part of the festival is the drinking of wine, produced by mixing the sahuaro sirup in a certain proportion with water and allowing this to ferment. The name of this greatest festival of the year is *naváita*, derived from *návait*, their word for the wine.

Elder Brother, so their tradition runs, created the sahuaro by placing beads of his perspiration in the ground. He walked in ceremonial circuits around it for four days, and the plant began to give fruit. He also made a jar in which he put the juice of the fruit which he mixed with water. "Let us see if we can not make rain with this to refresh the thirsty soil," he said to the jar. And its contents became wine, and it began to rain, as he thought it would. Therefore, to this day, the Papago make sahuaro wine and celebrate a great feast in accordance with Elder Brother's commandments. The wine was given by him in order that they might get drunk, and then rain would follow.

On our arrival at the rancheria of Noria we learned that the wine making had been started that morning. The festival was to begin in the evening, the singing and dancing lasting as usual for two nights, by the end of which time the wine would be ready for consumption. An hour after dark, as we were preparing our supper, a loud Indian voice from the other side of the arroyo on which we were camped sounded forth in the dark, still night, inviting people to gather for the festival. Standing in front of the medicine lodge, facing the east, the herald announced over and over again: "Darkness has

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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796 did not know their business well. The tribe, as I have already said, is daily losing its ancient beliefs and customs.

The distribution now began. The young men went in pairs, stopping before every one in his turn; each of the two would dip a gourd into the wine and hand it over. The recipient would, before drinking, lift it up toward the young man, saying: "*Návatsh!*" (friend!); if he were a relative, he would address him by the name of the relationship. It was evident from the beaming smile on the faces of those who drank that the wine awoke much satisfaction. My turn also came and I must confess that in this dry and hot climate, the beverage, when well made, and coming cool from the jars, does not taste at all bad, though I soon grew tired of it.

Four times in this manner had the young men made the rounds of the square, offering the wine quickly and with much precision, when two old men appeared on the scene. They advanced from the lodge, holding each other by the hand, fingers intertwined, and, beginning at the east, went in turn to each of the different mats where the principal men were sitting. The mat is called *váaki*, [773] which connects us with the mythical long ago when the hunter put up a small round house of that name near water, in which he stayed during the heat of the day. At each corner of the world is a váaki or hunter's lodge. At each such "house" a long speech was made by one [551] of the two old men, whose name was "Mocking Bird Talk." Addressing the most important man on the mat by his degree of relationship, or as a friend, as the case might be, he tells him to look for a white, shining house

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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CHAPTER VII

VISIT TO A VERY SACRED PLACE—THE CHILDREN'S SACRIFICE —A MEETING WITH AN IMPORTANT PERSONAGE—ÁNEKAM— PRIMITIVE NATIVES—I ARRIVE AMONG THE KOHATK PEOPLE —A WET NIGHT—RETURN TO SANTA ROSA

ALL the while I had not forgotten what my talkative woman friend at the last stopping place had told me. "Get an old man to show you the children's cemetery," she said, "and you will see many things." As soon as I considered my acquaintance with Simon to be sufficiently well established, I asked him if he would not take me to the place where the children had been buried. "It would be well to get the chief's permission for that," he answered after some hesitation. Accordingly Pablo and I mounted our horses and, accompanied by Simon, also on horseback, started off with the prospect of an interesting afternoon's experience before us. The place was not far away, perhaps three miles off, but it was already five o'clock and, as we first had to secure the permission, we hurried along.

Simon is very quick in his movements and, there being no time to waste, we confidently followed in his wake. We arrived at the camp of one of the principal men, a leader of the annual salt expedition to the gulf, with whom on the previous day I had had a long interview. He was one of those old-fashioned, simple-minded,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

624 773 though intelligent, barbarians who give the serious inquirer clear, absolutely straightforward information, and I had no objection to hearing from his mouth some more about the ancient traditions of the Papago. He told us of a spring that once had threatened to flood not only the great valley of the Santa Rosa, but the whole Papago country. Four children, two boys and two girls, had to be put into the fountain in order to stop the water from flooding. The sacrifice had availed and ever afterward this had been a most sacred locality, of which the Papagoes took great care. He asked us what we wanted to do there. Being assured of our harmless intentions, and Simon being a great friend of his, he had no objections to our proposed visit, and I paid him two dollars for the permission.

624 626 Our next call would be, I expected, on the chief. Simon, on his quick-gaited steed, rode ahead of us, and soon disappeared from view in the winding arroyo, which we entered. This arroyo led among the scattered ranches of Santa Rosa up to the base of the mountain range, where lay the object of our trip. On an easy grade we travelled quickly over the sand and gravel that the rains of previous years had washed down from the mountains so as to fill the arroyo bed. On both sides grew thickets of desert willows, arrowbushes, and a peculiar light green bush with long, needle-like leaves, from which the Indians make prayer-sticks. We followed this beautiful arroyo for a couple of miles, and I was congratulating myself on getting away unobserved by the multitude. Pablo and I spurred our horses along and we gradually

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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canny countrymen. Then we started back at a quick pace to our camp.

The name of this sacred place is Áalhihiani (*áli*, child; *bíbian*, cemetery). The enclosure's name is *ki*, house. It is renewed at irregular intervals and, according to my informant, sometimes every year. The present one had been made during the preceding winter. Those who make the enclosure have to come on foot to do the work. After the work is done there is a feast in the lodge, the whole night being spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks. The four children come down from the cemetery and take part, but only the medicine-men see them. In the morning the latter tell the people what they saw and what the children told them about rain and crops.

The faces of the children when about to be sacrificed were painted yellow with transverse black stripes, while the body was painted on the front, yellow, and on the back, black. A hole was dug in which the children were made to stand up, while the medicine-men sang. The flow of water which was stopped came from the sea, threatening to flood the whole world. The Papagoes worship the sea. In the subdivision of the tribe called Hohóla, tradition has it that a man once went down into a cavity in the ground and the sea kept him there for four years. His relatives, considering him dead, burned his house and ate his cattle. He turned up one day, asked them to make a house for him away from the rancheria, and, after having taken eight baths, one every four days, he began to live again as before.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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538 521 being able to breathe freer in the lower stratum of air. As soon as all were seated, including members of the family, [773] the old medicine-man took the word. Without further formality he began to tell about the creation of the world by Elder Brother Ítoi and about the deluge. After having dwelt on these themes for half an hour or more, he asked my interpreter if I believed the world was created as the Papago believe, or if I entertained the belief of the Mexicans. Clemente very diplomatically answered that 781 he had never asked me of my beliefs. The lore of the tribe arouses strange feelings even in a civilized Papago, for an Indian is nothing if not religious, and Clemente became eloquent, confessing at the start that he, having been brought up among Mexicans, knew little of his own religion. A man of position from Quitovac, on a visit to La Nariz, expressed his opinion that surely all nations have different religions and different gods, and the Papagoes were contented to have theirs, Ítoi.

124 Among the Indians who were serviceable here was a man of slightly darker complexion than usual, but tall and of very fine appearance, as evidenced in his name, Rainbow. His family were also nice and in his house I felt at home, changing films for my camera in the cool shade of the dwelling and even photographing the in- 712 mates. With him I visited ancient fortifications on the dark looking hill, of igneous origin, hardly four hundred feet high, which gave La Nariz its name. Where the trenches begin, about half-way up, there is a large stone as high as a man's chest; on its flat top were small artificial excavations in a row, each looking like the inside of a cup,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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312 been found which might bear palæontological investigation. At Quitovac Mexicans as well as Indians have dug about a dozen small ditches, the longest twenty feet, into the calcareous embankment for the purpose of giving the 823 water freer egress. Judging from these cuts, the deposit, or mesa, rests here on fine sand at a depth of from six to eight feet only from the surface.

773 The Indians have a fabulous tradition that where this 823 whitish deposit now rests there was once a square lake, in the middle of which lived a big animal that ate people. What kind of animal it was is uncertain for, as my informant, the oldest man there, said, "those who knew are dead." It was able to smell people at a great distance, and when travellers came that way they never returned to their homes, for they were eaten by it. In this emergency the Papago finally went to the cave where Ítoi lived in the Black Mountain (Pinacate) and asked him to help them. Ítoi said he would come and on the road he made ready his weapons (*váuk*), which were of hard stone, dark in color, and very large. He made four of them, and they were sharp and thin, being a kind of dagger or javelin.

"If the animal kills me, you shall see red clouds tomorrow, but if I kill the animal, you shall see white clouds," Elder Brother said as he entered the fray. The animal swallowed him, but he cut out its heart and made his way out through its flesh, and it sank to the bottom. Next day white clouds appeared around the lake, one at each corner of the world, and the people understood that the animal had been killed. Ever since the mesa has remained white, like the clouds.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

822 616 it belongs to the red people. Members of salt expeditions formerly painted on their faces the color of the division 822 T773 to which they belonged. The red people were, according to mythical tradition, the original owners of the country, but Elder Brother, *Sîhu*, having been ill-treated by them, brought the white people from the underworld and after many big fights the red ones were almost exterminated, and even to this day they are fewer than the white groups. Much in the minority are those families whose children address their father as *mámekam* or *vávekam*. The rarest of the groups is *vav*, and the most common, *ápki*. The mounds are attributed to the red people.

631 The rancherias appear to have a division of their own, that part of the Papagueria which is comprised within Arizona being divided into four provinces. Probably the present District of Altar is included in one of them. These subdivisions are:

I. *Ánekam* (name derived from a leguminous tree, *an*) consists of the rancherias Ánekam, Kukómalik, and Tjúupo; in other words, the upper part of Santa Rosa valley as far north as the Kohatk people, who are Pimas.

II. *Hobóla* (meaning of the word unknown) is the north-western part of the Papagueria. These people extend west of the Quijotoa range as far as Gila Bend, including Aktjin rancheria, four or five miles south of the modern Maricopa railroad station. Their original starting point is said to have been Cacate rancheria and includes such rancherias as Pozos Muchos, Sauceda, Pozo Blanco, and Barajita.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

631 [184 291] III. *Tótokvan.* ("Those who wear loose breech cloths." *Tókvan*, something loose. The designation alludes to the habit of the people of this section of using long or loose loin cloths or breech cloths, different from those worn by the other groups. They are at present more frequently called by the nickname *kíkima*, smart ones.) This section comprises most of the Santa Rosa valley, the Comobabi range, and extends east as far as San Xavier, which place was settled mainly by people from Santa Rosa. This is, roughly speaking, the north-eastern part of the Papagueria.

IV. *Kokeloroti* (Indian rendering of the Mexican *Tecoloteros;* from *tecolote*, owl). Their original name is *Tjukutkokam Kíkam*, "owl's cry inhabitants." *Tjúkutko*, owl's cry; *tjúkut*, owl, and *ko*, cry; *kikam*, inhabitant, derived from *ki*, house. These people are said to have started originally from the rancheria Tecolote, in Papago Tjúkutko, and extend from Indian Oasis southward, comprising such rancherias as Fresnal, Kóxikux, Tecolote, Sépanovak, and Pozo Verde. This section is approximately the south-eastern part of the Arizona Papagueria, and, according to the information of a Papago otherwise trustworthy, also includes the Mexican Papagoes.

771 773 Although the Papago, as we have seen, have elaborate dancing festivals, their religion is not regulated by exterior observances to such an extent as is the case with many other Indian tribes, as, for instance, that of the Pueblo Indians, or of the Huichols of Mexico, whose whole life is ruled by ceremonies and symbols. Many

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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still pray to the sun, which they call father. The deities most mentioned are Elder Brother and Earth Magician. The first of these is known under two names, Íitoi, which means "to drink it all," and Síhu, which was given him after the deluge, when he was the first to land. He helped Earth Magician at the beginning of time to bring order out of chaos, and may thus be termed the creator jointly with him. He created deer and other animals as well as the trees that bear fruit, making strong roots to hold the trees. He was a great singer. As we have seen, Baboquivari peak and Pinacate belonged to him, and here sacred caves, in which he was supposed to dwell, were devoted to his worship.

In their creation myths there are divergencies, as may be expected. One version begins:

"In the beginning was Sky and Earth. Sky came down and embraced the Earth."

Another is rendered thus:

"In the beginning the world was all darkness and all the time everything was moving around. In that time there was born a child Tjívurt makai, Earth Magician, and he began to consider what to do to make the world quiet. He took up some earth, mixed it with water, and made a round flat cake which he put down on the world to calm it, but it was of no avail, for the earth kept on moving around. He tried to steady it, moving it back and forth, and in doing so he separated the earth and the sky. A noise was heard and another child was born, who was Íitoi. He came to Earth Magician who asked him where he was born. 'Earth is my

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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773 mother and Sky is my father,' Íitoi answered. 'Help me to put the world in order,' Earth Magician asked him. Íitoi consented to this. They made the sun, the moon, and the stars, and then in their light they set to work. Earth Magician took two small beads of perspiration, which he changed into two spiders which walked around the world four times, tying the earth and the sky together at the edges.

"Then the two magicians made people out of earth and water, but they turned out to be bad and fought and killed each other. The makers turned the world over and made new people, who also killed each other. Four times in that way they made and unmade their work. 'There is something bad in the world,' they said. Earth Magician went around making holes with his stick. Blood came up and washed the earth, and they created new people. But Earth Magician's people were queer —some with one leg, others with big ears. Íitoi became angry over this and disowned them. Earth Magician also was angry and went to the underworld and stayed there. Íitoi remained here among his people singing, but they did not like him and killed him on four occasions, and each time he would be walking about again the next day."

526 Characteristic of their social life are two kinds of races, eight different games for men and three games for women. The games still flourish but the races are on the point of disappearing. The most important of the latter is a foot-race, run by two men, in which a ball usually made from mezquite wood is kicked along by

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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Sand Papago

103 361 south of Gila Range (Sierra de las Tinajas Altas). Though far from water, there are many evidences of camping places here.

Suvák, Summer Rancheria. "Red." A hill near by has the same name. In the Pinacate region, five miles south-east of Tinajas de Emilia. There was some agriculture here, among the lava ridges. People came from Batamote to cultivate brown beans, white beans (*tépari*), maize, and squashes on a small scale. It is doubtful whether these can be considered sand people, probably not. Nearer the coast no attempt at agriculture was ever made. There is a tinaja near by called *tjûumikux* ("Where the pitahaya stands." *Tjûmi*, a kind of pitahaya cactus; *kux*, standing, prominent).

Tinajas Altas, Camp. In Papago, *Óovak* ("Where arrows were shot." *Óo*, arrow). The name originates from a legend about two Indians who shot arrows from either side of the ridge. One did shoot across. Where the arrows of the other fell short the pools appeared. These well-known tinajas, eight in number, are in the southern part of the Gila Range (Sierra de las Tinajas Altas) that stretches from the neighborhood of Yuma south-east. It is on the old track from Caborca, over Sonoita, to Yuma.

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Tinaja de los Chivos, Camp. In Papago, *Hôtunikat* ("Sunset," "West"). The Spanish name is the vulgar expression *chivos* (goats) for mountain-sheep. In the south-western part of Pinacate. An important camp. There is a track leading from here to the former main camp of the sand people, called by the same name, *Hôtunikat*. Another track leads over the mountains to Tinajas de Emilia.

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Tinaja de los Papagos, Camp. In Papago, *Hitjuupo* ("Urine Pool." *Hi*, urine; *tjûupo*, natural tank, water in rock cavity; Spanish, *tinaja*). The name alludes to imaginary spoliation by the departed. In the north-western part of Pinacate. In years of ordinary rainfall the three tinajas here furnish water all the year round. An important camp.

Tinaja del Cuervo, Camp. In Papago, *Havanikosh* ("Raven's Nest." *Hôvani*, Raven (*corvus cryptoleucus*); *kosh*, nest). In the south-western part of Pinacate. This is a regular camp of the salt expeditions. Water can nearly always be depended upon here.

9: O'Neale & Dolores E, I-4 (no date) 1943
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women's inexperience in combining them showed in the garish inharmonies. Their dresses were riots of violent contrasts. Bright red, green, and yellow skirts banded at the bottom with other colors equally bright served to identify the wearers as far away as they could be seen. The Papago were astonished at the quantities of strong colors used. Bright colors warrant the use of the adverb "very" in describing them. In such cases the prefix *sih-* means not the darkness or lightness of the color, but its purity.

Certain color names can be modified to indicate that the color is very dark. Since the modifier is formed of the Papago word for black (*ʻicuʼ*KE), the translations of *ʻicuʼkema sewe'*KI and *ʻicuʼkema siceta'*KI, *ʻicuʼkema spi'tema'*KI, and *ʻicuʼkema smuhata'*KI are equivalent to blackish red, blackish green, blackish muddy color, and blackish greasy color.[2] Obviously a modifier meaning blackish cannot be used with the remaining color designations on the list, whites, blacks, and grays, or with yellows which become browns upon darkening, or with *ipahi* color which is never dark.

Conventional uses of specific colors on objects in the everyday life of the Papago are almost totally lacking. Red and black are the "right" colors for the painted designs on the feathers and shafts of arrows, but the basketry and pottery seem not to offer analogous examples. There is, however, one occasion upon which four specific colors are required, and upon which they have special significance. These four colors, symbolizing the directions, differentiate the rain clouds in the Papago Rain ceremony:

NORTH: *skokema'*KI *ʻiceva'*KI (gray clouds)
WEST: *swe'pe'*KI *ʻiceva'*KI (red clouds) EAST: *stotah ʻiceva'*KI (white clouds)
SOUTH: *spitema'*KI *ʻiceva'*KI (muddy clouds)

The color names for the clouds in the east and west need no explanation. The names for the southern and northern clouds derive from the Papago origin story. At the time of the flood, the rubbish that was carried along stopped in the south (*Vaʼkolih*WE). The flood waters went down in the north (*ʻicupin,*

[2] Certain differences in the spellings of the same word should be noted. In the main, the orthography and spellings correspond to those followed in two earlier papers by Dolores: *Papago Verb Stems* (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 10, 1913), pp. 241–263; and *Papago Nominal Stems* (Same Series 20, 1923), pp. 19–31. Throughout the present notes green sometimes appears as *ʻiceta'*KI, at other times as *siceta'*KI, red as *we'*KI and *sweKI* etc. The initial *s* is a formative element; the stem can be used with or without it.

Mountains and places with permanent names taken from colors use the stem without the *s*. East of Tucson is Little Yellow mountain, *alt oam toʼaʼ*KE, a name merited by its appearance in the good years when poppies cover the slopes. Likewise Green mountain is *ʻiceta'*KI *toʼaʼ*KE and Green Well is *ʻiceta'*KI *vakyak.*

9: O'Neale & Dolores E, I-4 (no date) 1943
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from *tcupi*, to sink). The winds coming from the south were muddy color because they had picked up the dust from the original rubbish heap. Even today the annual wind storm, which always comes from the south, is sometimes spoken of as being *spi'tema'*KI.

Papago men of one village who are sent to invite people from outside villages to participate in the Rain ceremony paint their faces black to disguise themselves. The invitation is not proferred by one individual to another, but by a messenger who merely represents the village giving the ceremony. This messenger is called *wuhyo tcu'*KI, face black. The speaker in the Rain ceremony greets the invited guests upon their arrival. He is painted with the colors of the rain clouds, white, red, gray, and muddy color, and also carries a stick striped with the same colors. These four are used together only in connection with the Rain ceremony.

The use of white clay at a child's reception into the family after the purification ceremony has also special meaning. The desert Papago use white clay, but the Sonora Papago use a yellowish-white clay. Perhaps they lack the white variety, or possibly any light-colored clay is potent. The story of the first use of white clay as told among the desert Papago is as follows:

There was a place where water came out of the earth. The people did not know the reason, but the water ran out in increasing quantities. The situation grew dangerous. The people became more and more excited, but they did not know what to do. They sent out the medicine man. He said that the keeper of the sacred *vahcah*[3] had not been true to his teaching. The people decided to make an offering, the greatest one possible. They decided to make an offering of the keeper's two children. A four-cornered hole was dug, and the children were put in it. The children were told to dance while the older people sang. The men started to sing. The children danced. Water ran into the hole. The children kept on dancing. They did not look at the water. They were drowned. When the water went down, a layer of white clay remained. It was said to be the children. It was said to be good because the children were good and obeyed instructions. To this day the child that is given a taste of white clay will be good and obedient like the two sacrificed children.

The paragraphs to follow present brief descriptions of each of the colors to which a designation has been given. The order follows that given in the chart.

*White. cahstoh*A, almost white; *toh*A, white; *sihstoh*A, very white. The first and last colors are to be considered in their relation to the standard. *toh*A implies the lack of color; *cahstoh*A describes pale tints of any color even those that are more than a little tinged with color. It seems to mean whitish or off-white, color terms comparable to our blue-white, cream-white, oyster-white, and the like.

[3] *vahcah*, a long rectangular basket, not coiled, with a cover. In this are kept sacred objects such as Apache scalps, crystal rocks, and sticks tipped with down.

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

THE PAPAGO CEREMONY OF VÍKĬTA

By Edward H. Davis

MANY years ago a great flood visited this country, inundating the whole region except the mountains, to which the people fled for safety. When the water subsided and the land was again dry, a large pool remained near Quitovaquita, Sonora, in which lived a great monster of which the people stood in deadly fear, for he was declared to eat human beings. He had the power to fascinate any man or woman who came in sight, and to draw them irresistibly toward him, then swallowing them alive. If any one had the temerity to peek at him even from the top of the mountain overlooking the pool, the monster instantly drew him down, in spite of his utmost power to resist, and consumed him.

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The terrified people tried to discover some means to rid themselves of this monster, who was gradually devouring the inhabitants of the neighboring villages, so they called a great council to plan for the destruction of the terrible menace. Unable to make any plan themselves, they sent a runner to Montezuma (Ehtoy), their great deity or hero, to come to their assistance. He made a sharp knife of obsidian and consented to kill the monster. As he started, he said to his wife: "If I kill, I will send up a white cloud; if not, I will send up a black cloud, and you will know." He climbed to the top of the mountain, and when the monster saw him, he drew him down and swallowed him. Montezuma went up and down, inside the monster, trying to find a way of escape, but without success. He first tried the head, but found no opening; then he tried the fundament, but found it was closed. Several times he traveled up and down the monster, but could find no way of escape. Then he took his knife and began to cut and hack until he had loosened the heart of the monster; then he cut an

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773 opening in the creature's ribs, and escaped, carrying the heart with him. He called in a loud voice to all the villagers, far and near, and when they heard him, he sent up the white cloud of victory.

The monster thrashed and threw his great body around until, in his dying agony, he had splashed all the water out of the pool, since which time there has been no 773 water in that place. Then Montezuma 778 took the heart and cut it in two pieces, paring each of them down until he had made two round objects about the size of a man's fist. He made one to represent a male, and the other a female. He then prepared a great fiesta, and all the people came from far and near to celebrate the death of the monster. Montezuma then instructed the people how to care for the hearts, how to guard them and to make fiestas for them each year. From that time the hearts have been looked upon as saints or idols which can intercede for them with the higher powers. A soft deerskin bag was made and filled with the soft downy feathers of the eagle, and upon these the hearts were laid,

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and the bag closed so that no human eye might thereafter see them. To this day, with possibly one or two exceptions, no person has ever seen the hearts. The bag was kept in a Papago medicine basket, made of palmetto fiber, which in turn, together with all the wrappings and ceremonial paraphernalia, was placed in two large ollas, then sealed up and hidden in a secret cave in the mountains. Many years ago an Indian with an evil mind broke in and stole the male heart, so that only the female heart remains.

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Manuel Ortega, an old Papago Indian, with whom the writer stayed, said that at one time he happened to be near when the keeper of the heart was rearranging or changing the eagle-feathers used as a bed for the heart. Becoming entangled in the feathers, the keeper pulled the heart out of the bag, and it fell to the ground. Ortega saw the heart before the keeper could return it to the bag, and as nearly as he could remember, it appeared to be a round, greenish stone about as large as a baseball. The Indians say they have sometimes heard the

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

773 778 voice of the male heart calling from the hills at night, and whenever they have tried to follow, it has always eluded them.

796 Each year, at full moon, in the month of July, the basket, with all the ceremonial trappings, is brought forth by the keeper, who is an old Papago woman, sister of the man who has charge of it, and she watches over it during the whole ceremony. At the conclusion, the man in charge opens the basket, inserts one hand in the bag, putting the other hand over the opening to prevent his seeing the heart, turns it over, then withdraws his hand and closes the opening, replacing the bag in the basket, which he lashes down with deerskin thongs. When the keeper grows old and realizes that he is about to die, he appoints a successor.

796 788 [409] The people for many miles around make an annual pilgrimage to the village of Quitovaquita, situated twenty-five miles south of the boundary line, in Sonora, to pay honor to the sacred relic, and to pray for belessings which it grants, such as plenty of rain, good crops, health, and long life for each family. Any neglect of this pil-

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

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over the liquor is ready to drink. If it is not consumed when fully ripe, it becomes water and loses its intoxicating qualities. In color it is blood-red and tastes like sour wine. There were nine large ollas in this house, containing twelve to fourteen gallons each, so that in all, about 120 gallons must have been consumed.

The old keeper doled the liquor in small, two-quart ollas, from which the Indians drank, passing them from mouth to mouth until all was consumed, and the ollas ready to be refilled. The Indians claim that the liquor is good for them, as it cleanses the system either as an emetic or as a cathartic. It was given to them by "Montezuma," together with the saguaro and other desert products. During the drinking there was neither quarreling nor fighting.

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Within a quarter of a mile of Quitovaquita, at the place where the monster is said to have perished, there appears to be a great deposit of lime-like earth, and in some places limestone. This doubtless hides the skeletal remains of many large prehistoric animals, since we there found

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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boy's parents until one or two children had been born, when they erected a hut nearby.

Death was little solemnized by the Papagos. Fearing that the spirit of the dead would drag with him his loved ones, they bestowed the corpse as quickly as possible in a crevice in the rocks leaving with it food, drink, and possessions, and adjuring it not to come back to frighten the living. Often they burned the house to discourage such visitations, and many of them, like the California Indians, never mentioned the name of the dead.

Papago life appears to be barren of material for ceremony but these wandering people, nevertheless, developed an elaborate system of observances. Their art impulse, deprived of opportunity for costumes and paraphernalia, expressed itself in song and poetry. Their ceremonies were based upon a long myth, describing the origin of all things. In this myth the People were brought up from underground by their leader, Elder Brother. They marched conquering through the country where Casa Grande now stands, driving out the old inhabitants, the Hohokam, or All-Gone-People. In the course of their adventures, there arose all the needs which later beset Papago life: the need for rain, for corn, for venison, for the taking of scalps, and the curing of disease. As each need arose, Elder Brother met it by leading the People in action and by singing a song. These songs, which punctuate the narrative at all its dramatic points, are often charmingly lyrical and descriptive. Moreover, they constituted Papago magic for all time to come. Ceremonies consisted in the singing of these songs, with appropriate dances and oratory. The mere singing was thought to produce the desired result, whatever it might be.

The Papago year was filled with such ceremonies.[2] In July, just before the rainy season, the fruit of the giant cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* was fermented and drunk, with singing, dancing, and oratory.

2. This section on songs and ceremonies has been abstracted from *Papago Songs and Ceremonies* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).